

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)

Hobbes' philosophy and English civil war

Introduction:

Thomas Hobbes was the tutor to the Cavendish Family of Devonshire. In the controversy between the king and the parliament for supremacy, he took the side of the king because all his personal interest attached him to the Royalist party.

Hobbs' Writings occasioned by the civil war: As soon as James I became king in 1603, a long period of violence started in England. After his death, his son Charles had to sign the petition of Rights of 1628. He came to loggerheads with parliament. As a result, civil war started in 1640 which had a profound influence on Hobbes.

The "Leviathan" represents modern state: In the leviathan he discusses the nature of man and justifies the omnipotent and sovereign state.

The nature of man and the state of nature: By using interdisciplinary approach, Hobbes derived his conception of the nature of man from facts of natural science.

Hobbes as a scientist: For Hobbes, a science of society is like Geometry. Man is a representative of the great universe. The behavior of man is a product of external forces operating upon his organs of sense. He considers man a machine in motion.

Hobbes as a utilitarian: Man invariably responds positively towards desirable and negatively towards undesirable ones. Good is what is desirable; Evil is what is undesirable. Pain or pleasure is a movement in his mind.

Self-preservation – chief object of man: To man, most desirable thing (good) is security while loss of life (death) is most undesirable thing (evil).

Men are equal physically and mentally: This equality results in power struggle. Here, equality is not absence of differences. But it refers to equal capacity to kill, to experience and to have nationality etc.

Equality makes man individualistic, self-seeking,

fearful, competitive and combative: If any two men desire the same thing—they become enemies.

Life in the state of nature is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short: There is "a war of every man against every man". There is no welfare in the society without government.

He says, "in such a condition, there is no place for industry because the fruit thereof is not certain and which is worst of all, continuous fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short"

Role of law of nature: By following the laws of nature men could live with peace and harmony. But men are too intemperate and short-sighted to follow these laws by themselves. So there is need of a sovereign authority to enforce these rules.

Leviathan

Leviathan is the product of contractual relationship born out of man's will to give a part of his liberty and set up a common power to preserve the liberty of all.

(1) Leviathan for self-preservation: Leviathan makes a man secure by pulling him out of the state of nature. Hobbes says: "For the sake of self-preservation therefore, man have been driven to set over themselves a common authority, veritable leviathan, that can retain their anarchical impulses and lift them out of the miserable condition of plunder, association, and fear that is the natural state of man outside the bounds of the organized society. For this purpose men have created common wealth's and appointed rulers to have domination over them" **(2) Contract is fully binding (3) Authority of state is justified only for the attainment of security (4) Leviathan is a sovereign (5) Command of sovereign is law (6) No limitation upon the sovereign People need not obey if sovereign commands a man to kill himself (7) Still people have no right to Revolt:** Individuals can resist the sovereign if their lives are in danger. This resistance should not become revolution (anarchy). In this way, Hobbs grants only "a limited right of revolution." **(8) Contract is permanent and irrevocable (9) Complete authority of sovereign (is all in all) (10) Sovereign is individual and in alienable (11) Leviathan has no passion for undue interference (12) Leviathan is not totalitarian:** The leviathan has certainly the right to command men's behavior that but not enquire into private belief. **(13) Advocacy of absolute monarchy:** Still there are some aspects of the state advocate by Hobbes, which are not modern in essence. They are advocated in consequence of the lawlessness witnessed by Hobbes during the English civil wars. These are: **(A) No mixed or limited government (B) unlimited monarchy:** It is only the monarchial form of government where public and private interests are united. A king cannot be rich, glorious or secure if his people are poor or weak.

Minor aspects of Leviathan

(1) Ownership of property can be regulated by state (2) Causes leading to dissolution of state (3) Lack of energy, aggressiveness, and mastership (4) Not every individual is a complete judge of good and civil actions Objectionable **(5) Divine Right Theory**

Conclusion: Hobbes drew conclusions from the chaotic and anarchical conditions of English civil war and created Leviathan, a state with modern concepts, that might be mad applicable universally

Features of Hobbes' Theory of Social Contract

Introduction:

(1) Nature of man (2) Equality of man in state of nature and pursuit of power (3) Danger of violence in the state of nature (4) Need of a civil power to regulate the behavior of human beings. (4) Self-preservation is the chief object of man (6) Social contract (establishment of leviathan) (7) Features of the contract (power of

Hobbes on sovereignty

(1) Introduction: Concept of sovereignty, for the first time in its modern meaning, was coined by Hobbes who is called the "father of the modern sovereign state" the concept.

Development of concept of sovereignty

In middle and ancient ages: Concept of sovereignty was absent. It was only with the advent of modern age that this

concept emerged. This concept clearly separates medieval era from the modern era. The **first modern thinker was the Machiavelli** who introduced an all powerful sovereign government. Next to him, **Bodin** defined sovereignty as “the supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law“. He is regarded as the father of the doctrine of the sovereignty but his sovereign was limited by natural law, law of God and customary law. The next in line is **Grotius** who followed Bodin to great extent. The greatest thinker who made sovereignty a concept having modern meanings and relieved it of the disabilities of the natural law, law of God, customary law, was **Hobbes**’ Contributions of Hobbes to the concept of sovereignty:

(1) Man in the state of nature (2) Hobbes’ sovereign (3) Leviathan as the sovereign (4) The command of the sovereign is law (5) No limitation upon the sovereign (6) People need not obey if sovereign commands a man to kill himself (7) Still, people have no right to revolt (8) Contract is permanent and irrevocable (9) Authority of sovereign is Omni-competent (10) Sovereignty is individual

Criticism:

(1) He Justifies de facto government (2) Contradictory theory (If sovereign is absolute, how subjects have right to resist?) (3) He portrays democracy but advocates monarchy (4) He Pictures unselfish ruler in opposition to his conviction of evil nature of man. (5) Contradiction in concept of nature of man (6) Far from reality

Hobbes’s theory of political obligation

(1) Civil state is the result of social contract (2) Political obligation based on contract (3) Political obligation based on Moral considerations (4) Men “ought” to observe the state (5) Political obligation based on prudence (nationalism) (6) Conclusion

Is Hobbes father of Totalitarianism? No

Introduction:

Some thinkers take Hobbes as the father of what has come to be known as the totalitarian school of thought. Totalitarianism refers to the system of government in which all the aspects of life of man including such personal thoughts as marriage etc, are controlled by the state, such writers connect to the rise of German and Italian Totalitarianism to Hobbes’ concept of absolutism . but in our view they are sadly mistaken.

Difference b/w totalitarian state and Hobbs’ absolute monarchy

There are following differences:

According to Hobbes his sovereign or absolute government is based on the **consent of the people (a democratic-element)**.

- Unlike totalitarian state (which aims at collective purpose), Hobbes’ state aims at maintaining order and security for **the protection of the life of the Individual**.
- Hobbes’ state is **authoritarian (not totalitarian)**.
- Hobbes’s **sovereign is ordinary human being** (sovereignty

is located in one person, few or many). He supported monarchy.

- Unlike totalitarianism, Hobbes **doesn’t glorify war**.
- Hobbes’ sovereign **doesn’t have any control over individuals’ personal life, the faith and beliefs and the inner feelings..**
- Hobbes’ state **doesn’t completely swallow the individual**.

Hobbes as pioneer of modernity Hobbesian

Revolution in thought

Introduction: The position of Machiavelli and Bodin in

modernity is doubted by many. But Hobbes, is by all standards, considered as messenger of modern era. His modern thought includes:

(1) Scientific materialism: The universe for Hobbes” says Wapyer, “is a machine made up of particles moving according to mechanical law. **(2) Sovereignty as a new concept (3) Secularism:** He rejected Divine Right theory and separated politics from religion. **(4) Utilitarianism:** “The power of the state and the authority of the law are justified only because they contribute to the security of individual human beings” (Sabine). **(5) Individualism (6) Repudiation of classical doctrine of law of nature:** Only man made law can be effective in human affairs. Sovereign is also not bound by the laws of nature, which are dictates of human reason **(7) Idea of contract --- an innovation:**

Criticism:

(1) Little favorable response (due to his materialism & atheism) **(2) No immediate following** (then Locke regulated his ideas) **(3) Overnight transformation of individuals is impossible (4) Erroneous to hold terror as the only bond or basis of social contract (5) Pernicious theory:** individuals are reduced to slaves (by tyranny of absolute monarch) **(6) Hobbes’ method is outdated** (Geometry cannot be base of social sciences) **(7) Prejudiced and biased theory** (It favours absolutism). **(8) No distinction b/w state and society (9) One-sided picture of human nature**
Conclusion: Jones says, “Leviathan is one of the greatest books ever written by on English man:”

Dunning: “Hobbes is the first English man to present a system of political philosophy that can stand among the great systems of history.

John Locke (1632-1704)

Locke vs. Hobbes on State of Nature

Introduction:

After Hobbes, Locke is most important thinker in history of English political thought. Though their views of human nature were not too dissimilar, their conclusions were widely divergent. John says: “Locke and Hobbes agree about the end

for the sake of which state exists, it is the peace security and well-being of individual members. But they disagree fundamentally about the way in which this end can be attained because their conceptions of human motivation differ so profoundly'

The nature of man and state of nature

Human Nature

Hobbes: Man is moved solely by animal considerations of bodily comforts. **Locke:** Man, at least sometimes, hears the voice of duty. **Hobbes:** Man is always utterly selfish. **Locke:** man is sometimes really altruistic. **Hobbes:** Man is merely an animal (a creature of nature). **Locke:** Man is a member of moral order and subject to a moral law.

State of Nature

In Locke's state of nature has two characteristic.

- **Liberty:** That is a state of perfect freedom in which men do as they like but within the limits imposed by the law of nature.
- **Equality:** Men are equal not in capacity but in rights they possess. These rights are conferred by the laws of nature which are capable of being understood by rational men.

Locke state of nature is the anti-thesis of Hobbes state of nature.

Laws of nature

Lock says that man in the state of nature was governed by the laws of nature. Under laws of nature, there was an equality of rights such as life, liberty and property. These are inherent and natural rights of man.

Like Hobbes, Locke makes the law of self-preservation as the first law of nature. Unlike Hobbes, Locke broadens the law of nature and makes his natural man a social animal. He says, "One ought, also as much as he can, to preserve the rest of mankind"

Inconveniences of state of nature

Locke's state of nature was not a state of violence and anarchy as in Hobbes' was attended with many inconveniences (lack of legislation or unclear natural law, absence of judiciary and executive)

Social contract:

- In order to **remove these inconveniences** found in state of nature, individuals **enter into contract** and create the state.
- There is a fundamental difference between the notions of the contracts of Hobbes and Locke. Hobbes contract is a hard necessity as the lives of the individuals are not secure or rather they are in imminent danger. With Locke, the contract is only a sort of convenience which may be entered into just to remove certain difficulties.
- Hobbes' sovereign is absolute while that of Locke is limited.
- Locke's contract makes individuals not surrender all natural rights except executing law and correcting one's own wrongs. But in Hobbes' contract, people surrender all their rights except

the right to life.

- According to Dunning "the end for which this agreement is made is the protection and preservation of property i.e. life, liberty and estate.
- In Locke's contract, participants agree to be governed by majority decision.
- For both Hobbes and Locke, contract once made is irrevocable.
- For Hobbes the contract is binding on all generations. However in Locke it is a contract to which each generation must give consent for "a child is born a subject of no country or government.

Nature of social contract;

For Locke, it is a political, rather than a social contract. Unlike in the case of Hobbes, Locke says that an organized society already existed (before social contract).

Locke assumes two contracts:

1. Between the individuals giving rise to community, and
2. Between the community and the government.

But Hobbes, on the other hand, creates everything with one contract.

For Locke the contract to create society is the first step to build a trust. After, in order to solve the problems of state of nature, people must constitute a government.

Government is not a party; Hence. Instead, it is the trustee which functions for and is responsible to the people who create the trust. In Locke's contract the community is thus both the creator and beneficiary of the trust.

Locke's contract, unlike that of Hobbes' is not a bond of slavery but a chapter of freedom

Criticism:

Locke probably did not realize that majority could also be tyrannical. It is not better for individuals to be deprived of their individual rights by majority than by a single tyrant (of Hobbes).

Conclusion:

Locke upholds the theory of contract as did Hobbes. But they differ widely as to the nature of man and the conditions prevailing in the state of nature. They, no doubt, agree about the ends of the state; peace, security and the well-being of its individual members.

The concept of Locke that social contract is of political nature is more conducive to the creation of state than that of Hobbes. How Hobbes' selfish individual can suddenly create a social contract? It is therefore right to hold that the contract idea is a sham in Hobbes' theory, it is essential to that of Locke.

Q) Locke's theory of Natural law and Natural rights vs. His Empiricism;

Introduction:

Locke, like Hobbes, starts from the analysis of human nature and the state of nature. He states that desire is the spring of all

human action. Everyone wants to substitute pleasure for pain. But the behavior of every human being is governed by the law of nature which everyone follows as a rational being. The law of nature is a kind of eternal law, which sets two standard of good and evil by reasoning. In following the law of nature, men are basically decent, orderly, socially minded and human. They hear and care the voice of duty and tend to be sympathetic in contrast to Hobbes' man who is moved solely by animal consideration of bodily confront.

Theory of natural law

(1) State of nature governed by law of nature: In the state of nature men are equal and free to act as they think fit, within the limits of law of nature. **(2) Spirit of justice, Friendliness, goodness and, mutual helpfulness grows from law of nature:** **(3) Law of nature is implanted in every heart and continues to govern civil society** **(4) Law needs force which in state of nature rests with everyone and leads to inconvenience.** Dunning says: *"the state of nature as conceived by Locke is pre-political rather than a pre-social condition. It is not a state in which men live in brutish reciprocal hostility but one in which peace and reason prevails. It is not a lawless state"* **(5) Still law of nature regulated freedom and ensured equality** **(6) Law of nature ensures right to life, liberty and property** **(7) Inconveniences in state of nature:** Differences of understanding of natural laws, moral standards and personal interests, absence of indifferent judge and executive power **(8) Man surrenders only one right "to execute the law of nature" to safeguard life, liberty and property**
Implication of Natural rights:

(1) Rights are only of the individual and not of the government. The individual has the right to overthrow government if it is tyrannical. **(2) Rights are held by all the individuals without any exception.** **(3) Rights are innate.** They are conferred on man by God. **(4) State doesn't create rights.** State must give them official protection.

Theory of Natural Law inconsistent with Locke's Empiricism:

Locke's philosophical position is based on empiricism. Empiricism means that knowledge originates from experience. But his political theory is based on rationalism. Rationalism means that man's knowledge is based on reason. According to Sabine, *"Everyman according to him wants to get rid of evil and get pleasure. This is the philosophical position taken by Locke. But then in his political theory, he pictures man as guided by reason which seeks the well being of all. This is a great philosophical ambiguity of Locke."* He could not unit his political theory with his general philosophical position.

If man desires pleasure, how he or she can act as to produce public or general happiness?

His theory of natural law in paradoxical (inconsistency in philosophical and political position):

In his Philosophical theory, Locke rejects theory of innate ideas and believes that man's mind, at time of his birth, is merely a

"Tabula Rasa (blank slate, or a white paper on which nothing is written). Impressions are made on this slate through sensations and experience. But in his political theory, Locke says that man is endowed with certain inherent and innate rights.

Conclusion:

In this way, Locke's version of nature law is a continuation of the classical philosophy of natural law and not a deviation from it as it is in the case of Hobbes.

Locke and concept of property:

"The reason why man enters into society is the presence of property; Locke The presentation of property is the chief end of the state" Locke

Locke and "capital appropriation:"

Introduction:

According to Locke, the right to private property arises only when man mixes his labor into the object; it is through labor that he extends his personality into the object produced.

(1) Rights are prior to society (innate) The purpose of society and government is not to create but to protect them. Among these rights most important is the right to property. By property Locked means the right to life, liberty and estate. **(2) Surrender of only one right to preserve the right of property** **(3) Contract involves rule by law of nature which gives every men the right to life, liberty and estate** **(4) Life, liberty and estate means right to property in broader sense** **(5) State removes inconveniences and protects natural/individual rights through natural law** **(6) Property necessitates society":** Locke says, *"the reason why men enter into society is the preservation of property."* **(7) Locke and private property:** Commonly held property can become private property of an individual when he mixes his labour with an object (to make it part of his personality **(8) Capitalist appropriation of property is unjustified:** *"It is labor that determines the value of goods. The greater the amount of labor expended on raw materials the more valuable they become."* Although Locke's expands the labor theory of value, he is against unlimited right to property (**capitalist appropriation**). He says that private property is natural but right to unlimited property is not natural. Further, there is no equality in property holding as Some men are more industrious than others. **(9) Limitations to the right of appropriation:** But these limitations are, however, surpassed by the invention of money.

Limitation to spoiling property: He says: *"nothing was made by God for man to spoil or destroy."***(10)**

Limitation of sufficiency: An individual may appropriate only as much as leaves enough and as good' for others.

Conclusion:

Harmon says: *"Adam Smith followed Locke case of labor theory of value, and Marx elaborated it to*

produce the theory of surplus value which he employed to attack the foundation of capitalism.”

Liberalism in Locks' writings

Introduction:

Locke says that the government is subordinate to the community

(1) Locke gave not a theory of Government but a theory of Rebellion and Liberalism: Both legislative and executive are bound to act for the benefit of the community from which their authority is derived. If government harms the society, it will be overthrown. **(2) Locks' theory of supremacy of the community:** Though community is not absolute sovereign but it is supreme in the spheres in which the individuals hand over their powers. By refuting Hobbes' theory of absolute sovereignty, Locke gives true sovereign to the individual. **(3) Locke's theory of consent (of individuals):** The government remains in office only so long as the consent of the ruled (individuals) is forthcoming. Consent of new generation is necessary in order to validate the original contract (new generation can change contract). **(4) In Locke, theory of state:** Aim of state is to remove certain inconveniencies of the law of nature. **Features of the state are:** (A) It is composed of three powers; **legislature, executive and federative.** (B) It acts as **means**, not as end. It is founded on the consent of the subjects. (C) It is **constitutional** and not arbitrary (D) It is **limited** and not absolute. (E) It is a **tolerant** state (F) It is a **transformer** state (selfish interests of individuals into public good) **(5) His theory of Revolution:** If the state doesn't serve the people or if it doesn't depend upon the consent of the people or it goes beyond its constitutional powers, it can be overthrown.

Locke as an individualist

Introduction:

(1) Equality ensures protection of the right to life, liberty and property (2) State aims at protecting natural rights effectively (3) Consent of the individuals is the basis of state (4) Theory of private property (5) Concept of law of nature; Theory of Revolution (6) Individualism vs. collectivism (7) Some critics regard Locke a collectivist too. Conclusion: Locke was an individualist out and out. His whole thesis originates and revolves round the individual who is supreme and sovereign. In his efforts to uphold individualism, he gives the individuals the right to rebellion against the Government if it fails to preserves natural rights.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

Q) "Social contract" of Rousseau is Hobbes' Leviathan

with its head Chopped off.

Introduction:

- In his Discourses on science and Arts, Rousseau repudiates science and art and charges them with corrupting men and society.
- Truth however, is discovered by reason and intelligence. Science is limited in its role and deals with the outward

“manifestations. Hence, truth must be found through reliance upon instinct, feelings and emotions and not upon the preachments of the philosophers.

- The proper standard for it is that of the natural man, uncorrupted by the vices and luxuries of civilized living. Rousseau attempts to provide an explanation of the origin of inequality among men in his “Discourses on the Origin and Foundation of Inequality.

State of nature of and nature of man:

Inequality in the state of nature consisted of difference of age, health, bodily strength, qualities of mind but inequality in civil society comprises of being more rich, more honored, more powerful.

In the state of nature one man may be stronger than the other. But this never will create the relationship of master and slave which is found only in the civil society. In the state of nature, he who is abused can simply run away.

Both Hobbes and Locke are wrong in attributing social vices and virtues to man in state of Nature:

Unlike Hobbes, Rousseau says that man, in state of nature, is timid and fearful and more likely to avoid quarrel than to seek it.

There are **only two instincts** that make up man's nature: (1) **self-love or self-preservation** (2) **sympathy**. Since these instincts are more beneficial than harmful, it follows that man is by nature good.

Main Points: (1) **State of nature was a state of peace where men were leading solitary happy, free and independent life (2) Inequality arose out of comparison and competition (3) Concept of private property, the biggest cause of inequality:** The first man who enclosed a piece of land and said “this is mine” and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of the society “ (2) Before **Property, state of nature was ideal while after property, state of nature was wretched**

Social contract:

(1) Protection of private property led to the creation of political society (2) General will makes society blessing: “Each of us puts in his person and all his powers in common under the supreme direction of general will and in one corporate capacity, we receive each member, as an individual part of the whole (3) **In contract individual becomes Zero, society becomes political supreme and organic in Nature:** He reconciles ideas of Hobbes and Locke and create a new idea of “organic society” (unlike both of them) based on will. He says: “*the body politics is also a moral being possessed of a will.*” He calls this will as the “General will”. (4) **Organic state so created is ruled by sovereign General will:** The organic theory of Rousseau repudiates the individualism of Hobbes and Locke. The state is rather a “living body”, a “public person”, or a “moral being” which is governed by “general will”. (5) **Position of government:** Government is

created to serve the society and implement the decision of the state. Here, he agrees with Hobbes & Locke. (6) **Establishment of society for perfect freedom**

(7) **Sovereign of the General Will**

Men merge their will into a sovereign general will. This general will or public person in its passive role is called state and in its active role is called sovereign.

The people have also a dual role—citizens (when they exercise their sovereignty through the determination of public policy) and subjects (when they follow it)

- “General will” is the expression of the public mind. It emanates from all and is at the same time directed to all. It is invariably good for all the members of the community.

- It is the only authority that **legitimately coerces** me in as much as it is my own will coming back even though I don't always recognize it as such. I obey only myself.

- The “General will” is also **inalienable and indivisible** and cannot be represented in parliamentary institutions but during election.

- General will is **always right** and tends to the public advantage.

Two Types of Will—an individual has two wills: (1) Actual will (selfish): This is individual's subjective will. It is limited and temporary and irrational. It is based on individual's self-interests. (2) Real will (altruistic): It aims at welfare of the society. It is permanent and rational will. It creates cooperation and interdependence among individuals. Hence, general will is the combination of real wills of individuals.

Characteristics of General Will

(1) Unity (2) Permanence (3) Right will (4) Inalienable (5) Cause of democracy (6) Reflection of public will

Criticism

(1) **Impracticable theory**—his direct democracy is not practicable in current larger nations (2) **Impossible distinction of general and real wills--** (3) **Force is negation of Liberty**—he subjugates individuals under force of general will (4) **General will is representable**— Currently, general will is being represented through parliamentary institutions. (5) **Conflicting views:** Initially, he emphasizes on the individual's freedom but after existence of state, he marginalized the freedom on individual.

Rousseau's sovereign is Hobbes' Leviathan with its head chopped off

- Rousseau's sovereign (General will) is an absolute sovereign, having autocratic control (dictatorship) over its constituents. He says: “Whoever refuses to obey General will shall be compelled to do so by the whole body.”

- The sovereign General will cannot tolerate defiance of its commands and dictates. Rousseau tries to strengthen his idea of popular sovereignty by saying that “the General will” is always right and tends always to the public advantages’.

- Hobbes' theory of leviathan is an absolute ruler wielding all-pervasive power over all walks of individual's life. eHobbes's

Leviathan is one single individual, preferably a monarch. The powers of Hobbes' Leviathan are more or less the same as have been attributed by Rousseau to his sovereign “General Will”.

- The only difference in Rousseau's state and Hobbes' state is that in the latter the head of the state is one monarch and in the former, there is no such head of the state.

Conclusion:

Rousseau starts like Locke but ends by reaching different conclusion. He in fact, wanted to reconcile Locke's individualism by upholding the dignity of man and fostering thereon the absolutism of Hobbes in making general will as the sovereign body. In this attempt, Rousseau is as despotic as Hobbes. But he differs essentially from Hobbes in the sense that Hobbes made the ruler the true sovereign while ruler in Rousseau is only an agent of the sovereign, the General will, the people. It is therefore quite apt to say that “Rousseau's social contract is Hobbes Leviathan with its head chopped off.

Man is born but is found everywhere in chains

Introduction:

The opening paragraph of his book “Social Contract” say:

“Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains. Many a man believes himself to be the master of others, who is no less than they, a slave. How did this change take place? I do not know. What can make it legitimate? To this question I hope to be able to furnish an answer.”

(1) The **subject matter of political science** in general and political thought in particular is the coordination between the **individual and the state**. Rousseau wanted to reconcile claims of the individual with those of the corporate to show that the one cannot live without the other and to establish that all development of man's faculties is possible in and through organized fellowship with other men. (2) **Men free in state of nature** (in family) **but in chains in state** (social customs and institutions) (3) **Reconciliation of liberty with authority** (through social contract) (4) **Liberty is given not to any particular human superior but to the General will** (collective will) (5) **Individual absorbed in the state still remains free because the state and the individual are inseparable** (Individuals gain civil and legal liberty) (6) **Handicaps of individuals in state of nature was overcome through social contract.**

Conclusion: The basic problem of Rousseau has, therefore, been to reconcile liberty with authority because he considered man in the state of nature as completely free but in chains in the political society. He tried to set up a community which is ruled by the general will so that each man may remain as free as he originally was.